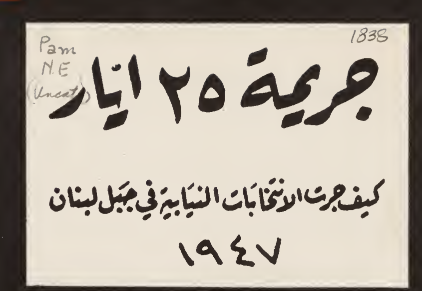


THE BLACK BOOK OF THE LEBANESE ELECTIONS OF MAY 25, 1947

This pamphlet is translated from a carefully documented Arabic book dealing with the general elections held last May in the Lebanon. Issued in Beirut by the National Lebanese Bloc Party as the result of a decision taken at a meeting of the Party on June 7, 1947, the booklet — edited by Professor George Akl, Abdo Ouadat and Edouard Hunein — is called in the original "The Crime of May 25." It consists of hundreds of pieces of eye-witness testimony exposing the fraudulent character of the elections and, as a corollary, the totally unrepresentative character of the Government which now speaks in the name of the Lebanese people.

The pamphlet is divided into three sections. One describes the pre-election activities designed to prejudice the election results. The second describes what happened on Election Day itself, and the third, the reaction to, and the protests after, the election.

The Black Book
of
The Lebanese Elections
of May 25, 1947

An Account Translated
From the Arabic Original
Edited by George Akl,
Abdo Ouadat, Edouard Hunein

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Why an Independent Lebanon?

ليس في لبنان، في طبيعة ارضه ومناخه، في تكوينه الجغرافي، في عدد سكانه، في قواه المادية وامكاناته الاقتصادية. ليس في كل هذه العوامل ما يوجب وجوباً مطلقاً قيام دولة لبنانية لولا الطابع الخاص الذي تتميز به، اي لولا كون لبنان موطن الحرية ومركز تفاعل الحضارات والتفريط اذن في الحرية الواجبة للحرية عندنا تفريط في الكيان كله.

مطلبها واحد :

حل المجلس وتأليف حكومة حيادية حقاً لاجراء انتخابات نزيهة .

بيروت في ١٦ - ٦ - ٤٧

رئيس الكتائب اللبنانية الاعلى

بيار الجميل

Neither the soil, nor the climate, nor the geography of Lebanon, neither the number of its people, nor its material strength, nor its economic potentialities — none of these justifies the idea of an independent Lebanon. There is only one justification in history for Lebanese independence: Lebanon is the land of freedom; Lebanon is the refuge of all the minorities of the Middle and the Near East. If you take from Lebanon this tradition of tolerance and freedom, there is no justification for its existence as an independent country.

Al Kataeb has one demand — the dissolution of the Parliament and the formation of a neutral Government to supervise free and honest elections.

Beirut, June 16, 1947

PIERRE AL-JEMEYEL
President of Al-Kataeb

Introduction

This postwar era has unfortunately been marked by many cases of fraudulent elections: in country after country majorities have been subordinated to vocal and powerful minorities, often strengthened and propelled by outside forces. To the list of lands in which democracy is forcibly being stifled, the young republic of Lebanon must, this booklet makes clear, be added. But what is at stake in the Lebanon is something even more fundamental than the forms and processes of democratic government. What is at stake is that precious spirit out of which, in the last analysis, democracy has sprung. For the Lebanon, the only Christian country in Asia, has for centuries been the home of a unique cultural and spiritual tradition, a land of genuine tolerance and freedom. Shielded by its mountain terrain, it has withstood the pressures of the outside world, preserved Christianity against the Moslem invasion of the seventh century and the all-encompassing Moslem world around it. The pure flame of Christianity continued to burn in the Lebanon, and the link between its churches and the very origins of Christianity has never been broken.

No truer indication of the high level of Lebanon's culture and civilization can be found than the fact that, while it staunchly continued to be predominantly Christian, it offered refuge through the centuries to all oppressed groups fleeing the repressive domination of the Sunni Moslem majority in the Middle East lands. It is no accident that, next to the Christians, Lebanon's second most influential group are the Druze; that it has Armenian, Kurd, Assyrian groups in its population, as well as various Moslem minorities, all living peaceably with each other. It was only a year ago that a small Moslem tribe in Syria, Al-Jabal, finding itself discriminated against at home, appealed for help to the Patriarch of the Maronite Church, the leader and spokesman of Christianity in the Lebanon. The Patriarch offered them land of his own. Surely the annals of the Middle East — that area so marked by religious fanaticism — contain few parallel instances of inter-religious cooperation. The Arab tribesmen of Syria understand very well to whom to turn: they knew instinctively that the Christian Lebanon was the seat of tolerance, the unfailing refuge for the oppressed of the Middle East.

This tradition — let it be stated very bluntly — is now in mortal danger. There are two movements at work in the Lebanon today. The first is that traditional spirit which we have just described and which is cherished by the great majority of the Lebanese population. The second movement may be quite accurately described as the invasion of the Lebanon by Pan-Arabism, as represented by the present Lebanese Government headed by the Prime Minister, Riad As-Solh, a Sunni Moslem

from a minority group in the Lebanon, who for the last twenty-five years has worked — against the will of almost the entire Lebanese people — to include Lebanon in an Arab-Islamic union. As long as France with its traditional support of Lebanese Christianity held the Mandate over Lebanon and Syria, the pro-Moslem forces had no chance. Their opportunity came during the War, when with the active connivance of Major General Sir Edward Spears, representing Britain in the Levant, the French lost their hold over Lebanon and Syria. A pro-Moslem Government was then propelled into office in the first elections held in the unmandated Lebanon, and almost without the awareness of the great majority of the Lebanon, the country was swung into the orbit of Arab League policy.

During the past two years the new orientation in Lebanese policy, imposed by the handpicked government of Riad As-Solh, became so striking and so menacing to Lebanese independence and the Lebanese spirit, that the public at large began to wake to what was happening. This awareness was intensified by the very bad domestic record of the Government — one of corruption; nepotism; denial of the civil rights and democratic freedoms the Lebanon had long known; and progressive impoverishment of a country which had had a well-balanced economy. It was only logical that a strong opposition movement began to be organized, the two main elements in which represent the overwhelming majority of the Lebanon's chief groups, the Maronite Christians and the Druze. Ranged around them are almost every conceivable political and religious grouping in the country, as the pages of this book bear witness. The leaders of all these groups speak here, notable among them the Maronite Patriarch and Kamal Jimblat, the chief Druze leader, who was so shocked by the cynical irregularities practiced by the Government during the recent elections that he refused to reenter it even though he himself was re-elected.

The elections of May 1947 were the first to take place in the independent Lebanon. As such, they are a reliable index to the forces at play in the country — the suppressive minority government on the one hand, and the organized and illegally stifled majority opinion on the other. The Government, as the reader of these pages will see, overlooked no strategem, no matter how obvious and how unworthy; it was determined to keep itself in office even though it was clearly disavowed by the people. It was all the more determined because the Parliament elected in 1947 will two years from now have to choose the next President — and thus the next Government — of the Lebanese Republic. The extremes to which the Government went can best be understood in the light of that fact and of its awareness that with every month that passes, the Opposition becomes more crystallized and the Christian youth group, Al-Kataeb, increasingly strong.

The itemized account in this book is far more than a local election record, shocking in its wholesale fraud. In the accumulation of facts here set forth, one may see the spirit of a cultured community, heir to a long historic tradition, protesting against the attempt to change its character and blot out its independent way of life.

The Lebanon stands now at the crossroads. Is it to become a fifth wheel to the Pan-Islamic chariot, against the will of the great majority of its people? Or is it to carry on its own national existence in its own way? In this struggle for the soul of a country, the people of the Lebanon need and deserve the help of that very potent factor, democratic American public opinion.

Preface to the Original Book

It was the wish of the Lebanese nation that May 25, 1947, the day of freedom and sovereignty, should be a day of fair and honest elections. Instead, it became a day of crimes and forgeries. On May 25 the Lebanese people lost its sovereignty and its freedom by force.

On this black day the people were forbidden the right of free voting. Those very persons who were supposed to supervise the elections and thus uphold the Constitution, were the tyrants who robbed the people of their freedom and changed the results of the ballots by forgery.

Despite coercion and intimidation the list of the National Lebanese Bloc Party was the victor in Mount Lebanon. The Party won by a large majority, but the Government ordered the governors, the mayors and all those under them, to ignore the results, and by open forgery the ballots were changed in the offices of those same officials. The ballots of the victors were stolen from the ballot boxes and their votes added to those cast for the Government slate.

That is why May 25, 1947 became the date of a national tragedy. Might conquered right; laws became chaos; dictatorship replaced the Constitution; falsehoods and forgeries replaced facts, and the criminals responsible for all this were the heads of the Government and their subordinates.

It is because of all this that the National Lebanese Bloc Party published this book. It contains all the documents expressing the general opinion of the country and incriminating those in power by the recital of simple facts.

The Party has taken it upon itself to answer the call of the country and to defend our people's freedom and rights in this struggle of the whole nation.

Many have been the tyrants who wanted to dictate their will to the nation and to enslave the people, but the day of the tyrants is a black day, and the dawn of freedom inevitably follows it. The nation will rise to the call of devoted and freedom-loving leaders, and will vanquish the tyrants, making an example of them forever.

The nation will be in power again. Right will rise and tyranny will fall. Freedom will live forever.

Long live Lebanon!

/s/ GEORGE AKL
General Secretary of the
National Lebanese Bloc Party

The Candidates of the National Lebanese Bloc Party in the General Elections of May 25, 1947

Ex-President Emil Edde
Louis Ziadeh
Clovis Al-Khazen
George Akl
Raji Al-Saad
Dr. Salim Al-Hayek
Habib Akl
Salah Lebki
Edouard Hunein
Michel Zeghzeghy
Nuhad Arslan
Shafic Al-Halabi
Qahtan Hamadeh
Dr. Toufic Ibrahim Rezk
Dr. Halim Saadi
Abdo Ouadat
Fadlullah Hamadeh

The Government's Pre-Election Maneuvers

When the Lebanese people were called upon to elect a parliament, we hoped confidently for fair elections. That hope grew out of many general considerations such as our belief in the rights of man, and in the sanctity of those rights, our responsibility to the democratic principles which are based on respect for constitutional and human freedoms, regard for the will of the individual, and the right of the people to choose its governors by way of free and honest elections.

We were determined to guard Lebanon's independence, and see to it that no illegal activities going against the will of the nation should in any way injure our independence and act to destroy the constitution protecting it.

Aside from these general considerations, we had in mind the emphasis on human rights in the Charter of the United Nations, which was solemnly signed by the Lebanese Government.

And, lastly, we were under the impression of the memorable speech President Truman had made to the American Congress stressing the importance of free and democratic elections through which the majority of every people may express its will, and assailing those governments which impose the will of a minority by force, persecution and terror, by censorship of the press and the radio, and by dishonest conduct of elections.

We remembered, too, the assurances given by the President of our own Republic in an address to the previous parliament, upholding the sanctity of the constitution and of free elections. Similar assurances had been given by the Prime Minister to the last council of ministers.

We saw and heard that the Lebanese people were at last out of patience with the conduct of the Government and were eager to change the state of chaos and insecurity prevailing in the country and to displace the men in power. We rose to our duty as patriots and, as the opposition, ran into the thick of the election battle.

On the basis of all these considerations, we hoped for success in the elections until we saw those in power utilizing all the spiritual and material force of the state to conquer the will of the nation, to strangle the opposition, and to go beyond the laws limiting the power of the governor over the citizen.

By means of negotiations, intimidation and all sorts of intervention the Government succeeded in destroying the opposition in many districts or in forcing its candidates to withdraw. In the south the authorities

carried on negotiations as a result of which the Sunni nominee, Emil Khaled Shehab, withdrew and Riad Bey Solh, the Prime Minister, was left unchallenged. In Al-Beqaa the Government transferred Josef Skaf to the list of the south in opposition to the election by-laws and thus the whole opposition list dropped out and only the Government list remained. As for the north, the efforts of the higher authorities in favor of some of the nominees who were relations and followers of theirs, made the opposition withdraw from the elections in protest against the intervention of the Government and the means used by it to insure its own victory. In Beirut the opposition was destroyed by forcing Sayeb Bey Salam to retire, and by a direct intervention of the Government which forbade the formation of an opposition list.

And now that the higher authorities had destroyed the opposition in all the other districts, they undertook to combat it in Mount Lebanon proper. The head of the Government abandoned even the pose of neutrality and participated actively in the formation of the Government list. False rumors were spread by Government circles; the press, clubs and organizations were all subjected to intimidation. All the constitutional guarantees set up to assure honest elections were systematically destroyed by the Government.

Violating the Constitution

Clause 15 of the Constitution states that the list of voters for each district is to be sent by the district Government representatives to the Secretariat of the local village councils, on the 31st day of January of the election year, in order that everybody in that village, section or district, should be able to go over the names and make the corrections necessary to ensure an accurate listing. Requests for erasing or registering names on the list should be made within ten days after the publication of these lists in the villages. What did the Government do? It did not send the lists to the local villages and did not publish them. The lists were so maneuvered that names of dead persons and emigrants appeared on them, but the names of living people opposing the Government were erased.

Clause 29 of the Constitution orders that the polling places in every local district be announced before the elections in order that the voters know in advance exactly where and when to vote, and the nominees should be able to protest, if it seems necessary to them, against the location of the polling places.

The Government did not announce the polling places until one day before the election, and the places chosen were inconvenient and illogical. Often the places were very far from the voters (as happened in the section

of Ghosta). In another section, there were 1500 voters, and it was physically impossible for this number to participate in the election, because — under the local polling place conditions — if each one took only one minute to cast his ballot, the number voting could not have been more than 480. When the votes were counted, of course there were 1500! Similar things happened in Ghosta, Shweifat, Juniyah, Alley and Barja.

Clause 43 of the Constitution states that the election date must be announced at least five days before the election. Actually, the morning of the 25th of May came without the announcement! The date was not announced until the actual voting took place.

In the Mount Lebanon district the Government appointed election officials who were known for their complete submission to the ruling authorities. The opposition asked many times for their resignation or transfer. Instead, the Government used these officials to enforce its wishes on the people by every corrupt means possible. The Gendarmerie and police in every place helped the Government and these officials in their intimidations, by means like illegal investigations and the creation of law suits aimed at the opposition personnel. This happened, for instance, in Damour and Jubeil.

Popular Demand for Free Elections

When the opposition saw how the outcome of the elections was being prejudiced, a great cry of protest rose from well-known personalities of Lebanon — party leaders, organizations, the press, candidates, and the public at large. They demanded the resignation of the Government, and arrangements for free and honest elections under a special neutral Government composed of personalities who would not associate themselves with, nor participate in, the elections, as Clause 29 of the Constitution, in fact, requires. A number of outstanding protests are here quoted:

THE DECLARATION OF THE MARONITE PATRIARCH:

The Maronite Patriarchate of
Antioch and the Levant

To the Respected Lebanese Government:

We have previously and to no avail expressed some observations concerning the electoral laws in Lebanon, and we are now warning the Government to consider several important matters in regard to the election:

First, according to Lebanese law, a census of the population must be taken every ten years. The present census was taken in 1932, and since then the Government has neither conformed to the law nor abrogated it.

Second, it has been confirmed officially that the census of 1932 was

false. Nevertheless, the Government uses it as a basis for the elections.

Third, the Lebanese emigrants who have asked to maintain their Lebanese citizenship have the right like all other Lebanese to register their names for inclusion in the list of voters and of nominees. This right has been forgotten.

Fourth, those who passed away after the census of 1932 are still registered among the voters.

Fifth, the elections, to be legal, must guarantee the freedom of the voters to elect according to the laws. If this freedom is not theirs, the elections are false.

Sixth, in order that the elections be honest, great care should be taken that the ballot boxes should not be tampered with and no forgery occur.

As it is one of our most important duties to take care of the freedom and happiness of the people of Lebanon, we have seen fit to make this proclamation to the respected Government in the hope that it will take all this into due consideration.

ANTOUN BOUTROS
Patriarch of Antioch and the Levant

From the Patriarchal seat of
Antioch in Bkerky, the 17th of April, 1947

STUDENT DEMONSTRATIONS AND PROTESTS

In Beirut, the capital, and Zahleh, the students struck in protest. Their committee went to the President of the Republic, to the Prime Minister, and other ministers, demanding that free elections be assured under a neutral Government. These demands were ignored.

The report of the committee to their fellow-students follows: "Following our peaceful demonstration which was stopped by force by our Government in Beirut on May 13, the students of Zahleh, on the next day, May 14, struck and demonstrated before the offices of the Government. To this second peaceful demonstration of the students the Government's agents replied with rifles and bayonets. In both demonstrations the wounded and injured were many.

"The President of the Republic announced to the committee that their demand would be decided upon very quickly, but nothing has come of all this. The Government has tried to divide the united students by using the old methods of appealing to the spirit of religious sectarianism. The students who are united in their resolve to abolish all traces of this pernicious policy, answered it by a united protest.

"And now your committee is appealing to national public opinion, asking the Lebanese people to awake from their heavy sleep. Our blessed freedom movement has to be completed with blood, if necessary. The students call the parties and organizations to quick and effective action in order that we achieve our freedom. To face the criminal power with

our hands crossed on our chests is not the way to achieve freedom."

THE STUDENT STRIKE COMMITTEE

Beirut, May 16, 1947

THE PROTEST OF THE GIRL STUDENTS

The girl students of the American College joined these demonstrations and protests, and demanded of the President of the Republic the formation of a neutral Government to supervise the elections.

THE PROTEST OF THE CANDIDATES IN BEIRUT

In a manifesto addressed to the President of the Republic, the candidates in the capital, Beirut, stressed the fact that true patriotism obligated the Government to take measures to assure free elections in a free atmosphere so that the new Parliament would be truly representative of the people of Lebanon. The manifesto went on to recall that the President of the Republic in his declaration proclaiming the dissolution of the previous Parliament, had stated that he would take good care to assure free elections under a neutral Government. The Government worked in the opposite direction, as many facts prove.

First, Clause 29 of the Constitution states that the Prime Minister and his council must resign from the Government six months before election day, if they wish to be candidates for election to Parliament.*

Second, the law states very clearly that those who have the right to vote must be at least twenty-one years old. On this basis those born in 1925 have the right to vote. Instead of following to the letter this clause of the law, the Government decreed that only those born in 1924 and earlier have such rights.

Third, before the elections the Government began the distribution of large sums of money to the various districts of the country. These large sums of money were taken from the poor-box, although the Government had decided previously to freeze the money in the poor-box.

This manifesto was signed by Husein Al-Sujan, Josef Shader, Mustafa Al-Aris, Philip Tamer, Meenasian.

THE PROTEST OF THE SUPERIOR GENERAL, SAVIOR ORDER

This was sent on May 24, 1947 to the President of the Republic. The Superior General stated: "Since people began to talk about the elections, Government agents have been moving about the monastery of the Savior, intimidating and coercing the residents of the four villages of the monastery. One of their maneuvers was to see to it that we did not receive the electoral lists at the proper time according to the laws, and when we protested an order came to the Gendarmerie to strike the four villages

*What happened, as these pages reveal, was exactly the contrary. All the ministers ran for election without resigning.

of the monastery from the list. When the electoral list came, the names of many of the living were erased, and many names of dead people appeared. The dead I believe are much better off where they are resting now than if they were here witnessing an election in which the sanctity of freedom is sacrificed."

For these and other reasons, the Superior General — Al-Archimandrite, Yousef Buheit — went on to say that he was boycotting the elections as a token of his protest against the Government maneuvers.

KAMAL BEY JIMBLAT AND HIS DEMANDS

The Minister of National Economy, Kamal Bey Jimblat,* knowing what was going on inside the Government of which he was a member, wrote to the Prime Minister, stating a number of demands, as follows:

"In order to assure freedom for the voters and to keep the promise given to the Lebanese people I found it my duty to transmit to your Excellency several recommendations for the execution of which you and my colleagues should take full responsibility.

"First, the formation of a higher authority composed of five judges chosen from the included list. The function of this authority would be to supervise the elections: it would work with the Minister of the Interior and under his leadership, and would have the right to revoke, put aside, transfer and punish any official of the Government who was proved to have interfered with the freedom of the people.

"Second, polling places should be set up in all villages at distances of not more than two kilometers from each other.

"Third, during the elections the civil officers of the Government — mayors, deputy mayors — should retire temporarily from active work and their duties be given to neutral judges selected from the enclosed list of names.

"Fourth, the same thing should be done with the officers of the police and the Gendarmerie.

"The enclosed list of names was chosen after very careful study. The names are those of some of the best and most trustworthy officials of the Government. Every party and organization in the country believes in them and has had evidence of their sincerity. They will be able to assure the freedom of elections.

"Because the time is near, I ask Your Excellency to call a special session of the Council of Ministers next Monday or Tuesday in order to discuss these recommendations which cannot be treated separately, but as a whole. This is the least we can do to insure a free election."

KAMAL JIMBLAT

May 16, 1947 — *Minister of National Economy*

*The youngest and most influential Druze leader of the Lebanon

THE PROTEST OF THE NATIONAL BLOC PARTY

When the National Bloc Party saw that no changes had been made in spite of many protests,* it sent the following telegram to the President of the Republic:

YOUR EXCELLENCY, WE HAVE PRESENTED MINISTRY OF INTERIOR THE PROTEST OF THE CANDIDATES OF NATIONAL BLOC PARTY IN MOUNT LEBANON AGAINST PARTISANSHIP DISPLAYED BY GOVERNMENT IN SELECTION OF POLLING PLACES AND ELECTION OFFICIALS. WE ASK EQUALITY FOR ALL PARTIES AND APPOINTMENT OF HONEST OFFICIALS OUTSIDE THE DISTRICT. WE AWAIT FAVORABLE DECISION ON CHANGES THE OPPOSITION HAS RIGHTLY DEMANDED.* IN ABSENCE OF MINISTER OF INTERIOR, WE ADDRESS THIS APPEAL TO YOU.

GEORGE AKL
GENERAL SECRETARY, NATIONAL BLOC PARTY

Despite the many protests by the press, political parties, groups of citizens and distinguished persons, the Government was silent. It continued to work by a well-prepared plan. Here is an example.

On May 22 a committee of the National Bloc, composed of Professors Raymon Edde, Nuhad Buyeiz and Anis Al-Hayek went to the town of Bejeh for a visit. They were greeted enthusiastically by the people. The supporters of the Government, angry at what took place and assisted by the officers of the Gendarmerie, sent a certain Akl Abi Akl, out to the town square. Here this person started to shoot bullets from his Government revolver. After that he quickly went to the officers of the Gendarmerie and told them that the members of the National Bloc were using firearms and shooting bullets in the public square. An officer came with his men, and when the professors started on their way home in the evening he stopped them, arrested them and took them to jail where they spent the night. When the inhabitants of the district heard what had happened they protested by ringing the bells of the churches and going in large groups to the public square of the town, led by Archbishop Boulos Akl. The whole town closed down in protest. The demonstrations were so effective that the officials had to free the visitors and all the people knew of this villainous conspiracy. This is one of hundreds of cases in which the Government and its supporters resorted to force and fraud in order to gain re-election.

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*The changes demanded by the opposition referred specifically to the location of ten polling places which were very difficult for voters to reach. The demand had also been made for the ousting of several officials who were at the head of those places and who had worked openly in the interest of Government nominees. These protests had been signed by Dr. Hayek Habib Akl, Edouard Hunein, George Akl, Salah Lebki, Raji Al-Sad, and were dated Beirut, May 22, 1947.

The Elections of May 25

The Governmental machine was used for the promotion of partisan self-interest. The day of the elections came and we found the polling places like battlefields. The forces of the Government and the special forces of the nominees, proteges of the Government, had been armed under the Government's eye. The opposition could not reach the polling places in order to see that the law was observed. Of course, the heads of the polls had chosen their watchers and supervisors from among supporters of the Government, refusing to include any of the opposition. Entrance to polls was forbidden to opposition candidates and if one of them happened to enter, he was taken out by force on charges of disorderly conduct.

Clause 51 of the Election Laws states that the tables should be situated in the middle of the room in such a way that the voters can go around them, and forgeries cannot be concealed from those present. In one case the head of the polling place put the tables on one side and refused to allow some of the opposition who had managed to enter, to approach the tables. The head of the bureau alone read the list of names, which is against Clause 50 of the Election Laws, which states that the list should be verified by the two opposing parties.

In many places the heads refused to announce the results of the voting in order to make the report by themselves, and thus put the list of the Government on top. In those places where the heads could not get rid of the censor of the opposition, they resorted to moving the ballot box under guard, to secret places where they alone selected and forged and changed the results of the ballots. This happened in Al-Jebeh, Ghalboun, Alaquorah, Almghyrat and other places. The ballot box of Hrajal was taken from the polls to the office of the deputy governor of Kesrouan for the same purpose.

Incidents in the Polling Places

JDEIDET AL-MATN

In this polling place voting was orderly and regular until 4 o'clock in the afternoon. When the time came for counting the ballots under the supervision of Josef Nehmeh, the head, the deputy mayor saw that the Government list was losing, having gotten about 20 per cent of the whole vote. He led a Government official to the ballot box and asked him to supervise the counting in place of the legal head of the polls. While this official was feigning to do his duty he brought to his office one of the nominees of the Government, and a few minutes after, this nominee came out angrily shouting and threatening to break the box with his

cane. The deputy mayor to insure order asked the armed guard to put everybody out of the polling place, and when the deputy mayor remained alone with the ballot box, the results of the counting were naturally in favor of the Government.

AL-AZRAH

We need only quote the protest of Dr. Shukri Al-Husri, himself a candidate, which was sent to the Ministry of the Interior: "First, the head of the polling place refused to appoint any member of the opposition to assist in the supervision of the voting. Second, by force of arms he refused to admit the nominee of the opposition to the polls, while the nominee of the Government, George Zuyein, sat in front of the ballot-box all the time, giving his orders to the head of the polls. He opened every ballot before it was put in the box, and when one of the onlookers named Francis Al-Sayegh, attempted to protest that such action is against the law, the head of the polls put him out. Third, the nominee's supporters stood at the door and prevented anyone who didn't belong to their party from entering."

Doctor Al-Husri also enumerated many incidents and skirmishes outside the polls, while inside he saw many ballots were thrown as one into the ballot box. Seeing all this, the opposition who were the majority, retired without voting.

GHAZIR

Here we shall quote the address of George Yared to the head of the polls of Ghazir, Edouard Hubeiqah:

"I cannot but show my appreciation and enthusiasm for what I saw you doing in the bureau. Really you have done all that you were ordered to do. You were very trustworthy and genuinely devoted to those who appointed you to guard the miracle box. Lebanon is proud of you. How can it be otherwise? You have brought the dead from their graves and made them living citizens. I myself was very thankful because I saw my late father standing before this miracle box. Of course, he was thankful, too, because you had brought him back to life. Your efforts should be well rewarded in this world; in the next world, we can wait . . . God will see.

"May I thank you for throwing me out by force so that I could not see with my own eyes what we never saw before. I am very sure that those who voted at Ghazir were no more than 400 while it appeared that one of the candidates got 600 votes. Further, the name of the Orthodox nominee, Dr. Fuad Ghosn, did not appear on the list at all, while I with my brothers and relations and the whole town voted for him. The Doctor has many friends in Ghazir who would swear by him as you did yourself when you took the oath to add the votes for your friends.

"The number of votes that the Doctor received was reported as zero. My friend, your way is the best. It will guarantee you the greatest success in the present era of our history."

HALAT

Emil Deeb, the head of the polls at Halat, did things differently. As soon as the voter came and showed his identification he knew what party he belonged to by the color of the paper. If he saw that the voter belonged to the opposition, he would assert that his identification was forged and asked the Gendarme beside him to report the case. The village elder who sat there, helpfully told the voter in those cases, "Change your ballot and we'll tear up the report." If the voter obeyed, his identification card suddenly became genuine. If not, he was thrown out without any ceremony. In this particular district, the investigating committee selected from the highest judiciary of the land sent an official report to the Parliament asking that the results of the polls of Halat be voided.*

GHALBOUN

Of a total of 800 voters, 650 ballots were cast, most of them for ex-President Edde. When the head of the polls began to read the ballots, naturally he kept reading the name of Emil Edde. One of the relatives of Dr. George Basil came to him and told him in anger: "You don't know how to read. I'll do that for you." So the one who appointed himself read nothing for Emil Edde and all for the nominee of the Government. The result of this was that ex-President Edde got 25 votes though actually he was elected by a large majority. Someone tried to break the ballot-box but Professor Ramon Edde, the son of the ex-President, didn't let him do so.

BSHETFYN

In this polling place the name of Emil Edde was read as Shahid Al-Khouri, who was the nominee of the Government. The official assistant to the head of the polls protested. He was put out himself. He telegraphed to the proper authorities. Nobody was there; they were deaf.

INK ON THE BALLOTS

In the District of Jubeil, the stories are unbelievable. At Ghelboun the head of the polls took a bottle of ink and spilled it in the ballot box. When he saw some protest he carried the box to the District of Jubeil. In many other polling places the same thing happened. When the heads

*This impartial committee of investigation was set up after the elections as a result of the storm of protests which swept over the country. Its subservience to the Government is made clear by the fact that it found evidences of fraud in only four cases!

were not free to do what they liked with the boxes, they carried them under guard to the general headquarters of the district and there did as they wished.

IN THE DISTRICT OF KESROUAN

The District of Kesrouan by the zeal of its vice-governor, Badia Saleh, was very fertile in strange, miraculous results. We give an example which happened to be included in the report of the committee of investigation appointed to study the complaints and the protests.

Philip Tecla, the nominee of the Government and a former minister, was elected to Parliament, the official count for him being 26,566 votes. In order to show how he was elected we give a table in four columns:

The Polling Place	*The Exact Number of Votes in the Polls*	*The Forged Number of Votes on the Official List*	*The Difference*
Al-Bouar	190	353	163
Ehmej	360	756	396
Qurtaba	62	375	313
Ghalboun	10	560	550
Almat	25	390	365
Al-Maghirat	28	300	272
Luhfed	198	550	352
			2411

Mr. Tecla, according to the official forged count got 28,543. If we take from this number the difference in our table, 2411, the total will be 26,132. Mr. Tecla in order to win the election had to have 26,566.

GHOSTA

Antoun Yousef Afram Al-Shamali, who was absent from his town and is a member of Al-Kataeb (the Maronite youth organization of Lebanon), voted more than once in spite of being absent. Someone by intimidation got his identification from his father; this identification was given to Antoun Hanna Srur from Deraoun, and he voted with it. Many others in that polling place voted with forged identifications distributed to them by Dr. Sakhr Al-Khazan. Antoun Milad Al-Shedyaq voted four times with forged identifications. The elder of Deraoun, Hanna Antoun Al-Shamali, voted thirty times in the same way.

An automobile passing by Dlebta carried a picture of ex-President Edde. The car was smashed. Also, the Superior General of the Paulist Fathers of Hrissa with his priests was returned by force to his monastery because he and his priests did not vote for the Government list.

HARAT SAKHR

A miracle happened there. Voting was regular and orderly the whole day, and the polls closed their doors. This is when the miracle happened. Prof. Elias Rababi, the nominee of Al-Kataeb, according to an official observer, had 246 votes. There were still 100 uncounted votes. To his great surprise, the observer saw that Rababi at the end got 200 votes, and Tecla 225. When he asked how that had happened, the officials answered: "Poor Tecla, we have to give him the votes in order to have him win the election."

HRAJEL

At 1:30 P.M. the head of the polling place received a cable from the deputy mayor telling him to stop counting the votes. At 2:30 P.M. a squad of twenty soldiers came to the polls and reinforced the six already there. They had four machine guns with them, threw everybody out of the polls, took the envelopes containing the votes and went back to where they came from.

This case was one of those declared null and void by the investigating committee appointed after the elections.

QURTABA

A letter of protest was sent to the Ministry of the Interior by Josef Aboud Asaad, an officially appointed assistant observer. This letter stated that according to the records, which were in the writer's possession, actually only 62 voters presented themselves at the polls. Still when the official count came there were 562 votes recorded. What kind of magic was at work here?

The investigating committee also voided these results.

JUBEIL

All the ballot boxes of the District were removed to the Government offices in Kesrouan before having been counted. The vice-governor of Kesrouan kept all these boxes in his office twenty-four hours.

LUHFED

Of a total of 576 votes ex-President Edde got 500. This was observed by the opposition, but when the results arrived at the official headquarters of Baabda, it was found that Edde had gotten only 26 votes.

BETWEEN SHAMOUN AND AL-KHAZEN

The polls at Ghosta served the following villages: Deroun, Mearab, Ain-Waraqat, and three others. At 9 o'clock sharp there were already 1200 ballots in the boxes. The candidate of the district, Al-Khazen, told

his followers to send every additional voter back. Minister Shamoun sensed this false play. He protested to the candidate and threatened to expose him. The candidate replied: "It isn't my fault. I did what I did by orders from on high."

IN THE DISTRICT OF AL-SHOUF

Al-Shouf was the scene of many frauds and forgeries. We give just a simple example. In the polls at Joun there were many dead people among the electors. In protest the monks of the Monastery of Joun refused to vote, and they went in a circle around the ballot box, chanting a requiem.

In that polling place the two nominees of the National Bloc, ex-President Edde and Prof. Edouard Hunein, got practically all the votes, which were over 500. When night came and everything was over, each of them was listed as having received only fifty votes.

This is a case that the investigating committee also voided.

The same thing happened in the ballot bureau of Shweifat and in the district of Beit Shabab.

In conclusion, we give some excerpts from an article in *Al-Basheer* summarizing the reports by its correspondents in various districts:

"Our traveling correspondents all over the electoral districts saw one and the same thing. Voters were forbidden by force of arms to enter the polls. This is what happened in Burge, Al-Brajenah, Katr-Maya, Al-Kharoub, Ghosta, Kesrouan, Alley, Shweifat, Al-Shouf—the doors of these polling places were opened to those favored by the authorities and closed in the faces of the others, well guarded by bayonets. Our correspondents saw some things and learned many, many others, which will blacken our faces in history. What happened in the Mount Lebanon province happened all over the other areas."

In the Offices of the Mayors and Deputy Mayors

In spite of the Government's fraudulent conduct in the polling places, when the ballot boxes arrived at the offices of the mayors and deputy mayors, it was found that the Government candidates were not all winners. There were still some of the opposition nominees who were at the top of the list. This had not been expected, so an order went to the mayors and the deputy mayors to change all the results and to give the Government candidates the number of votes necessary to make them winners. This was then done in fifty polling places or more, as the declaration of Kamal Bey Jimblat, the Minister of Economy, testified.

As an example, take the case of one of the winning nominees of the Government, Sheik Farid Al-Khazen. He said that he slept that night a

victor, and when he awoke the next morning, he found himself a loser after all the addition practiced on his account. So he had to hurry to the general headquarters of Baabda and there with his friends corrected the "mistakes." At Baabda 13,000 votes were added in order that the Government nominees should be victorious. This, by the way, was acknowledged by the ministers who supervised the last phase of the elections. When we deduct 13,000 votes from a nominee who got 37,000, what remains is 24,000. The one who got 36,000 will be left with 23,000. The one who got 34,000 will have only 21,000, etc. If we deduct only 10,000 votes from the Government nominees and we add them to the votes of the opposition, we will find that the nominees of the opposition were the winners.

Proofs of the Fraud

STATEMENT OF KAMAL JIMBLAT TO THE PRESS

"It pains me very much to declare to the Lebanese people that what happened in the electoral districts in general and in Baabda, in particular, when the final count took place, is more Machiavellian and corrupt than we can imagine. For after our return from Baabda at 12 o'clock yesterday (i.e. May 25, 1947) with their excellencies, Al-Yafi, Shamoun, and Al-Mur, and after a careful study of all the reports, I came to the following conclusions:

"1. There was forgery in all the votes for Sheik Salim Al-Khouri and Prof. Emil Lahud in the district of Al-Shouf alone. This fraud involved 2,000 votes for Sheik Salim and 1,500 for Prof. Lahud.

"2. Great discrepancies occurred in the counting of the ballots at Baabda. For example, the committee went over the results of four polls where Prof. Al-Soda had 600 votes in Shweifat. To our surprise these votes had vanished from Baabda.

"3. The names and the numbers in many lists were erased and changed.

"4. Many lists which came from the polls did not carry the names of the nominees on top, so it was easy to exchange them.

"We will bring to you tomorrow surprising information on this farce played in Mount Lebanon, a farce that the judges, members of the higher committee of investigation were never expected to find. My personal observations and information lead me to believe that forgery was practiced in no fewer than forty or fifty electoral districts. I can give many examples. The officials in one place were discussing the votes to be given to each nominee, and one said: 'We will give so and so 600 votes.' The sergeant of police protested and he said, 'He deserves only 500.' When asked why, he said: 'This fellow opposed the increase for Government employees when he was a deputy.'

"Another incident happened to me personally. At Baabda the mayor

of Mount Lebanon was counting votes for me, and suddenly I saw the number jump from 42,000 to 44,000 to 45,000 to 47,000 to 52,000 and to 53,000, while I knew that the true number of voters was not more than 40,000. I am sure that the number of fraudulent votes that were added there was not less than 13,000. I state this on my own personal responsibility. Mr. Badia Saleh, the vice-governor of Kesrouan, is actually a criminal and a forger, and must be put to trial with all the other officials, great and small, who participated in the forgery."

In a speech which Kamal Jimblat delivered to the crowds gathered in front of his house, who came to ask the explanation for his resignation from the Government, he said: "Do you wish to know what you should do? I call upon you to boycott the completion of the elections which will take place next Sunday. The Parliament which is going to be composed of the newly elected deputies is a Parliament nominated by fraud. It is not legal. And it will be illegal until new elections are ordered. This illegal Parliament will be called on two years from now to elect a new President of the Republic, and this President will not be a legal president. You must not permit this to happen. Boycott the elections of next Sunday."*

THE DECLARATION OF CAMILLE CHAMOUN

The newspaper *Al-Hadf* in the issue of May 29, 1947, published a declaration by Camille Chamoun, the Minister of Finance, which we quote word for word:

"This morning Prof. Chamoun received the notification that the votes of Kesrouan had increased enormously and that he, Prof. Chamoun, had 10,000 of these votes. Prof. Chamoun, hearing this, stated: 'This is an open fraud. I cannot pretend that I could have gotten all these votes from Kesrouan and Jubeil. The increase for me is meant to silence me and keep me from protesting against the increase for others. This I will not accept'."

THE PROTEST OF THE MARONITE PATRIARCH

"To His Excellency, Riad Bey As-Solh, the Lebanese Prime Minister:

"Many have been the complaints and demonstrations regarding the elections in the district of Mount Lebanon. These elections took place in an atmosphere of intimidation and coercion, and their results were forged. These complaints are substantiated by protests from two Ministers in spite of the fact that they personally were victorious in these elections. The facts presented by the complainants cannot be doubted and this has given a very bad reputation to the Government of Lebanon inside and outside the country.

*Actually only 20 per cent of those who had voted on May 25 participated in the run-off elections of June 1.

وقد قال في خطاب له القاه في الجماهير المحتشدة امام بيته يوم جاءت تستفسر عن استقالته من الوزارة .

« هل تريدون ان تعرفوا ماذا يجب عليكم ان تعملوا ؟

اني ادعوكم الى مقاطعة الانتخابات التكميلية التي ستجري نهار الاحد ..
فالبرلمان الذي سيتألف من النواب الذين اعلن فوزهم هو برلمان معين بالتزوير .
فهو والحالة هذه غير شرعي . وسيظل كذلك الى ان تجري انتخابات جديدة .

سيدعى هذا البرلمان بعد سنتين الى انتخاب رئيس جديد للجمهورية .
وسيكون هذا الرئيس ايضاً غير شرعي

فلا تسمحوا بان يجري مثل هذه الامور وقاطعوا الانتخابات التي ستجري نهار الاحد المقبل ».

Kamal Jimblat Calls upon the People to Boycott the Run-Off Elections of June 1, 1947.

- ٥٤ -

«في الصباح بلغ الاستاذ شمعون أن اصوات كسروان ارتفعت ارتفاعا عظيما وانه هو : اي الاستاذ شمعون ، نال منها فوق العشرة الاف صوت .

فما كان من الاستاذ شمعون الا ان اجاب : هذا تزوير مفضوح وانا لا ادعي اني انال من كسروان وحدها كل هذه الاصوات ، كما ان زيادتها لمصلحتي بقصد اسكاتي عن زيادتها لسواي ، لا ارضى به »

Camille Shamoun Protests the Fraud in His Own Election.

بطريركية انطاكية وسائر المشرق المارونية

لبنان

حضرة صاحب الدولة رياض بك الصلح رئيس الوزارة اللبنانية المعتبر

قد كثرت الشكاوى والمظاهرات كما لا يخفاكم ضد انتخابات منطقة الجبل بحجة انها حصلت بالضغط والتزوير ومما يؤيد هذه الشكاوى احتجاجات وزيرين من الوزراء عليهـا رغم حصولهما على الاصوات الكافية لنجاحهما. والشاكون يوردون براهين عديدة على حصول الضغط والتزوير وذلك ممـا يسيء جدا الى سمعة الحكومة بالداخل والخارج ويضر بالاستقلال فنحن الذين يهمنا جدا نجاح لبنان والمحافظة على الامن والحرية وحسن سمعة الحكومة نرى ان اهم طريقة لتبرير الحكومة مما نسب اليها هي ان تأمروا باعادة الانتخابات التي جرت بالضغط وبتزوير الاصوات مع اتخاذ الوسائل الضرورية لتأمين حرية الانتخاب ومنع كل تلاعب بالاصوات تحت اشد العقوبات. وانتم تعلمون ان اهم رائدنا المحافظة على سمعة الحكومة وابعاد كل ما يقلق راحتها وذلك من واجبنا ومصلحتنا ومصلحة بني وطننا.

وفيما نؤمل ان تعيروا كلامنا هذا الاهمية التي يقتضيها ندعو لدولتكم ولحكومتكم بكل توفيق

عن بكركي في ٢٩ ايار سنة ١٩٤٧

† الحقير انطون بطرس

بطريرك انطاكية وسائر المشرق

The Protest of the Maronite Patriarch
May 29, 1947

"We are deeply concerned that Lebanon should be a progressive country, living in freedom and security, and that its Government should always have a good name. Hence, we believe that the best way to clear the Government of these accusations is to order new elections for the country in which you should take all necessary precautions to assure honest voting and forbid any fraudulent manipulation of the ballots. You know very well that our most important concern is to keep the name of the Lebanese Government clean. This is our duty, our interest, and the interest of the sons of our country.

"In the hope that you will take our counsel under proper consideration, we pray for your Excellency and your Government and ask for your success."

Antoun Boutros
Patriarch of Antioch and the Levant

Bkerkey, May 29, 1947

After the Elections

The Cry of the People

THE DECLARATION OF HENRI PHARAON

Henri Bey Pharaon,* the Minister of Foreign Affairs, when leaving the office of the Prime Minister, gave the Lebanese press this statement:

"There is no question of the Government resigning. We know that there were fraudulent activities in some of the electoral districts, and we have studied this phase as we have no law in the Constitution which permits us to void these elections or to stop them. We are going to continue the elections in the natural way with the provision that all protests should be presented to a committee of investigation, in order that this high authority proclaim if the election were true or false."

THE MARONITE PATRIARCH AND HIS COUNCIL OF BISHOPS

As soon as the election incidents and frauds were known, masses of Lebanese marched to the Patriarchal seat at Bkerkey to see his most respected Beatitude, and to present to him the case of the people. For the Lebanese had followed his sincere counsels addressed to them before the elections, concerning the choosing of the nominees.

The place was crowded with people from Kesrouan who brought with them documentary evidence of the fraudulent actions of the Government officials. His Beatitude was very much concerned, and regretted very deeply the actions of these officials against the freedom of the people in the era of Lebanon's complete independence. He promised the people to call a Lebanese general conference where all the denominations would be represented in order to study the case and to work for the annulment of these elections.

Their excellencies, the archbishops, met in groups, studied the situation carefully and decided to protest against these tyrannical acts and the farces played on the scene of these elections.

THE CRY OF ARCHBISHOP MOUBARAK

His Excellency, Archbishop Moubarak, on May 27, 1947, addressed an open letter to the President of the Republic protesting against the open intimidation, coercion and forgery in all the electoral districts. Here is what he said:

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*Mr. Pharaon retired from the Cabinet after the elections, although he was urged to remain.

"Excellency, with all due respect to you, I, who am speaking to you, am Archbishop Moubarak, who has been a friend of yours for the past forty-five years. I am Archbishop Moubarak who on the day of Rashaya,* in order to save you from exile and perhaps from murder, to save you and your present Prime Minister and all your comrades, went down to the street and made his voice heard among all the classes of the people in the churches, clubs and the streets, and made the Lebanese nation rise to help you. I am Archbishop Moubarak who for your sake exposed himself to be jailed and killed by the bullets of the Senegalese; Archbishop Moubarak of whom General Spears, more than once told you after your return 'that the Government of His British Majesty would never have intervened against the French had it not been for the demonstration of Archbishop Moubarak in your favor, and would not have been able to do anything for your freedom.'

"Archbishop Moubarak for the past four years has been telling you the facts in secret while you closed your ears to these facts, not accepting them; and in return for this devoted sincerity sometimes you showed anger and sometimes unconcern. In spite of all this, your friend is still devoted to you, still hopes for real reform.

"Archbishop Moubarak, your sincere friend, is today in despair, because what every Lebanese expected to see under your presidency was security, justice, and happiness for the people. Instead we see only chaos in all the Government offices. We see only bribery and tyranny and persecutions in the courts. We see public robberies and fraud by the governors and the officials under you, and the deputies in the Lebanese Parliament. Murders are committed constantly and the Government has lost the respect of the people. Nobody cares, because the criminals are not punished. They are pardoned.

"Hence, Archbishop Moubarak today, on the day of the first elections under your presidency and in the era of our complete independence, sees Lebanon as a pool of blood all over its districts, especially in the District of Mount Lebanon, this erstwhile peaceful district, disturbed and agitated by the intervention of the forces of the Government, forbidding the electors their free choice and facilitating the election of a band known for its tyranny, thieveries and frauds, for its sacrifice of every public interest to its own self interest.

"The people do not want this band and refuse to elect the persons belonging to it, but your Government wants to elect it by force and forgery, trampling on the right of the nation. Is this what your conscience inspired you to do? Is this the fruit of the independence that we fought for on the day of Rashaya — this enslavement of the people by force of arms, this strangling of freedom and this turning of the Mountain

*October 1943—when the French arrested El Khoury and his ministers

into a pool of blood, crying to Heaven for vengeance. 'Vengeance is mine, saith the Lord, and I will punish...'

"Seeing these crimes committed in the open with your own knowledge and by your order, though so great a responsibility has been entrusted to you by God and by the Lebanese people, permit us to give you the advice of a sincere friend to a weak friend. In order to keep your self-respect and make your conscience clear, we beg of you to resign the office of President of the Republic as long as you cannot bring justice and security to Lebanon, and cannot preserve for it the democratic freedoms of which the first is freedom of elections.

"If your Excellency cannot make this great and necessary sacrifice in the cause of the country, we beg of you to free us personally from seeing these scenes which cause our hearts to bleed. Send us to the prison of Rashaya in order that we may do penance for our sins which made possible this regime of tyranny and persecution, this destruction of Lebanon by the hands of those you favor. Continue, if you must, to enjoy the happiness of Nero when he saw Rome burning and the blood of the innocent running like rivers. Your happiness will come from the destruction of Lebanon."

IGNATIUS MOUBARAK
Archbishop of Beirut

Beirut, May 27, 1947

PROTESTS OF THE NATIONAL BLOC

First Telegram: HIS EXCELLENCY, PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC. THE NOMINEES OF THE NATIONAL BLOC OF LEBANON PUT ON THE SHOULDERS OF THE GOVERNMENT AND YOUR EXCELLENCY, RESPONSIBILITY FOR ACTS OF INTERFERENCE, INFLUENCE, FORGERY, INTIMIDATION, TERROR, BEFORE, DURING AND AFTER VOTING IN THE DISTRICT OF MOUNT LEBANON. THE GOVERNMENT CONSPIRED AGAINST THE LEBANESE PEOPLE AND ITS MOST HOLY RIGHTS. IN THE NAME OF THE NATION, WE INFORM YOU WE CANNOT ACCEPT RESULTS OF SUCH FRAUDULENT ELECTIONS WHICH SHOULD BE ANNULLED. LONG LIVE LEBANON.

SALAH LEBKIE, DR. HALIM SAABI, ABDO OUADAT, EDOUARD HUNEIN, HABIB AKL, MICHEL ZEGHZGHI, RAJI AL-SAAD, LOUIS ZEYADEH, NUHAD ARSLAN, GEORGE AKL, SHAFIC AL-HALABI, SALIM AL-HAYEK, CLOVIS AL-KHAZEN

May 24, 1947

Second Telegram: BEIRUT URGENT. HIS EXCELLENCY, PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC: ALL FORCES OF GOVERNMENT, GENDARMERIE, POLICE, WERE ARMED FOR TERROR AND

INTIMIDATION AGAINST SUPPORTERS OF NATIONAL BLOC IN MOUNT LEBANON IN INTEREST OF LIST OF SHEIK SALIM AL-KHOURI. WE WIRED YESTERDAY IN PROTEST AGAINST PARTISANSHIP AND DENIAL OF FREEDOM TO THE PEOPLE IN ALL POLLING PLACES. WE TRIED WITHOUT AVAIL TO REACH MINISTER OF INTERIOR DURING BOTH FRIDAY AND SATURDAY. HE IS INTENTIONALLY ABSENT. ALL THESE ILLEGAL ACTIONS WILL BRING EVIL RESULTS. WE BLAME THE RESPONSIBLE OFFICIALS FOR ALL THESE UNLAWFUL ACTS. WE ASK YOUR EXCELLENCY TO PREVENT THESE HAPPENINGS AND ACT ON OUR PROTEST.

George Akl
General Secretary, National Bloc Party
Nominee for the Party in Mount Lebanon

May 25, 1947

Following these two telegrams the National Bloc Party presented its case to the higher investigating committee, documenting every phase of the fraudulent manipulations, intimidation, forgery, etc., which had taken place in the District of Lebanon.

THE MEETING AT THE AL-HIKMAT INSTITUTE*

At the Al-Hikmat Institute in Beirut on May 29, 1947, a mass meeting was held under the auspices of the Committee of National Liberation. It was attended by large crowds from the capital and neighboring districts, including distinguished political personalities and representatives of the press. The meeting unanimously adopted resolutions demanding:

"1. The annulment of the elections in all the districts of the Republic of Lebanon, since they had been falsified and did not represent the will of the Lebanese people.

"2. The formation of a neutral Government to guarantee new free elections, to be held at the earliest date possible.

"3. Transmission of the above decisions to His Excellency, the President of the Republic, to the Government of Lebanon, to the Arab League, and to international public opinion."

These resolutions were transmitted to the press for the Committee by Salah Lebki, Counselor-At-Law.

PROTEST OF WOMEN OF THE CAPITAL AND THE MOUNTAIN

The Women of Beirut:

"To His Excellency, President of the Republic: We, the women of

*This Maronite school of higher learning, some two hundred years old, was the main factor in the modern revival of Arabic as a scientific and literary language. The first scientific Arabic grammar, dictionary and encyclopedia were products of this school.

Beirut, have been forbidden the right to participate in the elections, a right which is our natural privilege as citizens of Lebanon. But we cannot be forbidden to raise our voices in protest at that which happened and which was recorded in our history as a black blot. Accordingly, we plead with His Excellency, the first President of Lebanon, to deal justly with the country by executing the demand of its sons — by ordering a new election, free and honest, under the supervision of a neutral Government, which will protect the freedom of the people as the constitution demands."

Signed by:

ALICE NAQASH
JULIA JABER
RAYMONDE MURAQADEH
MARIE MURAQADEH
ALICE AMOUN
YVONNE TIYAN
HEND TIYAN
MARIE ABU-TAQAH
ANTOINETTE SABBADHAH
SHAFIQA SALEM
ROSE SABBADHAH
MME. ALICE ABOUD
AMELIA KHALIFAH
LAURE BASHOUR
MARIE NABULSI
MARIE BASHOUR
STEPHANIE KHOURI FARRA
LINDA JIBRAN KHOURI
YVONNE HADDAD
ZAHIAH YUNANI
ELAINE AL-BATRANI
HEND FARAH
MME. FARAH
HANNEH GHAFAEH
MME. SYRIANI
MADELEINE MALHAMEH
PAULETTE YARED
ROSE ABI-JAAJAA
VIRGINIE MAROUN
LOUISE SFEIR
LAURE GEORGE THABET
SYLVIE ANIS TRAD
LINDA BESTROS
YVONNE BESTROS
MADELEINE THABET
MALVINA NAJIB TRAD
LUCY THABET
MARIE NAHUL
AMINA MUKHTAR BEYHUM
MRS. MUSTAFA GADOURA
EMMA NASOULI
IBRIZA
MRS. ELIA SAMAHA
LILA SARKIS
IHSAN MEHMASAM
WADAD BEYHUM
BAHIA KHAYAT
SHAFIGA SALAM
FATIMA DAOUG
MALAKEH BEYHUM
SARA DAOUG
LAMIA BEYHUM
MARIE FOUAD TAMER
AMINA NEAMANI
IHSAN MENEIMNEH
HEND GHOUDOUR
FATIMA ABDUL-KARIM GRONFOL
RAJIA BEYHUM
RASHA SHEIKH
AFIFEH BEYHUM
MALAKEH BEYHUM AYAS
KHADIJA BARBIR
IGBAL DAOUG
HALIMEH BARBIR
SALWA SAFA
AMIRA AL-KHALIDA BEYHUM
RESHDIEH OMARI
SALWA MEHMASANI MUMENEH

Fatima Groufol
Zaheih Doghan
Ibtihaj Gadoura
Maud Farajallah
Mme. Khouri
Odiba Gazoun
Nour Nasouli
Rose Ramez Sarkis
Suheileh Saadi
Salma Jimblat
Nabihah Al-Aaour
Farideh Najjar
Najla Ar-Reis
Aniseh Assaf
Odlan Rishani
Fatima Khalidi Salam
Lamaan Trablos Laziki
Zahieh Salman
Ismat Mehmasani
Huneineh Al-Tarsha
Rafica Doghan
Sanieh Darwish
Aesheh Al-Taneer
Amira Mezher
Hanifa Nasouli
Leila Beyhum
Yanana Beyhum Sobra
Sandas Sebaai
Inam Ghandour

The Arab-Lebanese Ladies Union:

The Arab-Lebanese Ladies Union, in order to register its protest against the fraudulent elections, sent a telegram to the President of the Republic and another to the Prime Minister. We quote as follows:

TO HIS EXCELLENCY, THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC: THE ARAB LEBANESE LADIES UNION HAS THE HONOR TO PRESENT TO YOUR EXCELLENCY THIS APPEAL REPEATING ITS FORMER PROTESTS AGAINST THE EVENTS OF MAY 25, 1947. WE RELY ON YOUR FAIRNESS AND WISDOM TO GIVE JUSTICE TO THE LEBANESE PEOPLE. THE ARAB LEBANESE LADIES UNION ASKS YOUR EXCELLENCY TO USE HIS AUTHORITY AND DISSOLVE THIS PARLIAMENT WHICH WAS ELECTED ILLEGALLY AND WHICH THE PEOPLE OF LEBANON WILL NOT ACCEPT. WE BELIEVE THAT AMONG OUR LEBANESE BROTHERS WHO WERE ELECTED TO THE NEW PARLIAMENT THERE ARE STILL SOME LIVE CONSCIENCES. WE ASK OF THEM TO BECOME SUPREME JUDGES ON THEMSELVES. CAN THEY SWEAR THAT THE ELECTIONS WERE LEGAL AND FREE? FURTHERMORE, WE BEG YOUR EXCELLENCY TO ORDER THE RELEASE OF THE NEWSPAPERS UNDER BAN BY THE GOVERNMENT. THESE NEWSPAPERS AND WRITERS ONLY DID THEIR DUTY IN ORDER TO LET YOU HEAR THE VOICE OF THE PEOPLE

Ibtehaj Qadoura
President,
Arab Lebanese Ladies Union

اصحاج نساء العاصمة والجبل

السس نقاش ، جوليا حجر ، رنوند مرقده ، ماري مرقده ، السس عمون ،
انيون سان ، هند سان ، ماري اوطقه ، انطوانيت صاعه ، شفيقه سالم ، روز
.. عه ، مدام السس غنود ، املى حلمه ، لور سور ، ماري نابلسي ، ماري
سور ، استفاني حوري درا ، سدا جبران حوري ، أنيون حداد ، زهية بوناني ،

ايلان المطراني ، هند فرح ، مدام فرح ، حه عله ، مدام سرناني ، مدام
ملحمه ، وليت يارد ، رور اني جعجع ، فرحسي .. ون ، اوبرا سمير ، اور
جورج ثابت ، سيلفي ابس طراد ، لبيدا سترس ، انيون سترس ، مدام
ثابت ، ملفيسا نجيب طراد ، لوسي ثابت ، ماري نحول ، امي نجار .. ،
حرم مصطفى قدوره ، ايما نصولي ، اوبرا مدام ابلما حماسه ، ابلي سركيس .
احسان محمصاني ، وداد بيهم ، بهيه حياط ، سعيقه سلام ، فاطمه داعوق . ماكه
بيهم ، ساره داعوق ، لميا بيهم ، ساري فؤاد تامر . امسه النعماني ، احسان
ميمه ، هند عدور ، فاطمه عبد الكريم فرنفل ، راحسه بيهم ، رشا شيخ .
عفيفه بيهم ، ملكه بيهم اياس ، حديجه بربير ، اقبال الداعوق ، حليمه بربير
سلوى صفا ، اميره الخالدي بيهم ، رشديه عمري ، سلوى محمصاني مومنه ، فاطمه
فرنفل ، راهيه دوعان ، ابتهاج قدورة ، مود فرج الله ، مدام حوري ، ادسه
فزعون ، نور الحوتي ، رور رامز سركيس ، سبيله سعاده ، سلمى جنبلاط ،
بيبه الاعور ، فريده نجار ، نجلا الريس ، انيسه عساف ، ادلان ربتاني ، فاطمه
خالدي سلام ، نعمان طرابلس لادقي ، زهيه سلمان ، عصمت محمصاني ، حميده
الطرشا ، رفيقه دوغان ، ساميه درويش ، عائشة التنير ، اميره مرهج ، جمعه نصولي
ليلى بيهم ، نهى بيهم سوره ، سعدى سباعي ، انعام هدور

The Signatories of the Women's Protest
May 30, 1947

The Ladies of the Capital and of the Mountain:

Sunday, June 1, 1947, Mme. Laure Thabet, the wife of the notable George Bey Thabet, received in her palace a number of the outstanding ladies of the city and of the Mountain, who came to discuss the present situation and decide what they could do to fulfill their duty as citizens of our country. Their number was over 120, and they all unanimously agreed to the following protest which they commissioned the hostess Mme. Thabet, and a committee consisting of Mesdames Ibtehaj Qadoura, Huneineh Tarsha, Effie Majdalani, and the Misses Salim Saab, Raji Beyhum and Dr. Habib Al-Huri Saadi, to present in their names to the president of the Republic.

At 11:00 a.m., the next day, this committee went to the palace of the Presidency and presented to His Excellency, the President, their letter of protest, demanding:

"1. The annulment of the fraudulent elections.

"2. The appointment of a neutral Government to supervise new and free elections.

"3. Amendment of the constitution which was drawn up during the mandate regime and is today inappropriate to the wishes and hopes of the Lebanese people.

"4. Full freedom for the press and restoration of their right of publication to the newspapers already banned."

His Excellency, the President of the Republic, received this committee, representing the ladies of Lebanon, with due respect and promised careful consideration of their demands.

The Ladies of Zahleh:

The ladies of Zahleh telegraphed to the President of the Republic, also, asking for new elections. The signatures to the telegram, witnessed by the elder of the district, Aziz Jureisati, May 29, 1947, were the following: LAURICE MATRAN, SHAHZMAH, HAMADEH, EMILIE NASRALLAH, NAJLA HERAWI, RENEE ABU-HEIDER, MARIE EISSA, BLANCHE RBEIZ, BADIAAH AKL, KATTAR AYOUB, ODETTE MUSSALAM, GEORGETTE HERAWI, AMELIE AKL, NABIHAH AL-KHOURI, EUGENIE MALOOF, JOSEPHINE MAAKAROON, ADELE AKL, MALKEH HASHEM, LEILA QUAZOON.

THE PROTEST OF THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE

In its declaration to the people, the National Lebanese Conference, after going over the incidents which had happened during the elections, stated in conclusion: "The National Lebanese Conference which participated in the liberation movement of October 1943, will continue the struggle for the liberation of the country. It asks the Lebanese to unite and to stand by its side in our struggle of today as they did before: as the country has been freed from imperialism, it will yet be freed from enslavement and exploitation.

"Lebanon is for its own people. It is not the property of a group who want to exploit it for its own benefit. Our only goal from now on is Lebanon for all the Lebanese. Long Live Lebanon!"

DR. GEORGE HANNA*
General Secretary
DR. SALIM ITRIS*
Vice President

May 29, 1947

THE PROTEST OF THE EMIGRANTS CLUB

"To His Excellency, the President of the Republic:

"The Emigrants find it very painful to join their voices to the voices of the residents in protest against this dark blot on the name of the Lebanese people. In the name of the hundreds of thousands of Lebanese emigrants under all the skies of the earth, we appeal to your Excellency and present our protest against these fraudulent elections begging that you give Lebanon back its former pride in its independence, and erase this vile blot from the faces of its sons by ordering new and free elections."

Beirut, May 30, 1947

EMIL AUDEIMI
President
NEMR ABU-KHALIL
General Secretary

THE PROTEST OF THE LEBANESE COMMUNIST PARTY

The Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Lebanon protested vigorously with the other parties against the elections of May 25. In conclusion, it stated: "This great anger of the masses of Lebanon has shown clearly that it is no longer easy for any Government to play with their destiny. Falsifying the election results is not only an act of aggression against the principles of freedom and democracy, but also a stab in the heart of the independence of the Republic. The only real way to save the name of Lebanon and its independence and to wash away this crime is to annul the elections, and to set a date for new ones under a neutral Government which will assure the people freedom of election."

THE PROTEST OF THE NATIONAL PARTY†

The leader of the National Party, Antoun Saadi, issued a declaration to the people of Lebanon on the battle of the elections. He blamed the result of the elections on the Government and persons who were playing

*Dr. Hanna is a Protestant, Dr. Itris is a Moslem.

†The National Party of Lebanon today is a relic of the old Syrian National Party called the "Fascist Party of Syria." Its leader, Antoun Saadi, was called the Syrian Fuehrer (Az-zaaeem).

in an appeasement fashion with the principles of freedom and independence. He admitted that his party was given 11,000 votes in the District of Mount Lebanon alone, but he claimed that his followers and sympathizers gave the nominees of his party over 30,000 votes. He also stated that the elections themselves were less important than the question of principles: either the nationalistic principle will win, or the reactionary elements will be at the helm of power forever.

PROTEST OF ARAB (SOCIALIST) RESURRECTION PARTY

From over the border came the protest of the Syrian Arab Resurrection Party of Damascus, which we quote:

"The Arab People of Syria, protesting vigorously against the action of the Lebanese Government, gives its full support to the people of Lebanon in its demands for the annulment of these fraudulent elections. The Arab people of Syria know very well that what has happened in Lebanon is not more striking than what is sure to be done by the governing group in Syria in the coming elections. That is why our Party feels deeply the necessity for intimate cooperation with the people of Lebanon, so that both Lebanon and Syria may be free."

Damascus, 12th of Rajab, 1366
May 30, 1947

MICHEL AFLAQ
Leader of the Arab Resurrection

THE AL-KATAEB OF LEBANON

Al-Kataeb, the Maronite youth organization, has a membership of over 40,000. It is the most powerful organization in the country and bears somewhat the character of a militia. It has an official organ, the newspaper *Al-Amal* ("Action"), which constantly carried letters and editorials of protest on the elections. Because of the abundance of this material, we can give only an outstanding example — excerpts from an open letter by the President of Al-Kataeb to the President of the Republic:

"Your Excellency, neither the soil, nor the climate, nor the geography of Lebanon, neither the number of its people, nor its material strength, nor its economic potentialities — none of these justifies the idea of an independent Lebanon. There is only one justification in history for Lebanese independence: Lebanon is the land of freedom; Lebanon is the refuge of all the minorities of the Middle and the Near East. If you take from Lebanon this tradition of tolerance and freedom, there is no justification for its existence as an independent country.

"Your Excellency, as I have the right to express the opinion of the youth of my country, I beg of you to give back to the people of Lebanon their confidence in themselves and their pride. This fraudulently chosen

Parliament cannot eliminate fraud; the same Government that supervised these elections cannot right the wrong. The nation denies all legality to the Parliament and to the Government based on this Parliament, and declares void every treaty or law emanating from it. There is only one way to act in this situation. It is to dissolve the Parliament by using your right to do so. Al-Kataeb has one demand — the dissolution of the Parliament and the formation of a neutral Government to supervise free and true elections.

Beirut, June 16, 1947

PIERRE AL-JEMEYEL
President of Al-Kataeb

FROM THE EMIGRANTS TO THE MOTHER COUNTRY

The news of the fraudulent elections crossed the frontiers and reached Lebanese emigrants all over the world. They rose in protest.

The Emigrant Lebanese of Egypt:

"To the Lebanese people: The farce of the elections is ended and the tyrant forgers are victorious. Are you satisfied with these results which have clothed you with shame among the nations, and which prove Lebanon's unfitness for freedom and democracy? A living people cannot be ordered about by a group of men with no conscience. Are you satisfied to obey these men? Your present and your future are in your own hands. Rise for your freedom as one man, and regain your stolen rights by all the means at your command. We base our hopes on you, and we await the day on which you will prove to the world that you are fit for glory, freedom and independence."

Those of Mexico:

"We protest with all our strength against these shameful elections. We ask that new elections be held in their stead in a free atmosphere. The emigrant Lebanese of Mexico will not recognize this sort of Government, unfit to govern the Lebanese nation."

AL-QUSTASE, AL-FARAED AND REDENDOLT,
Lebanese Press of Mexico
ALFRED SALIM AND SULEIMAN BOULOS
General Secretaries,
Lebanese Union Society of Mexico

Those of the United States:

Prof. Salloum Mokarzel, publisher and editor of Al-Hoda, daily Arabic newspaper of New York, cabled to the President of the Republic in his name and in the name of the National Lebanese Committee of the United States, which represents fifty Lebanese societies.

THE NEWS OF THE FRAUDULENT ELECTIONS IN LEBANON IN PRESENT ERA OF INDEPENDENCE DEEPLY ALARMING. WE

FIRMLY BELIEVE YOUR EXCELLENCY DOES NOT WISH SUCH UNLAWFUL ACTIONS RECORDED IN HIS TIME, AND WE ASK YOU TO TAKE ALL NECESSARY MEASURES TO RIGHT THE WRONGS BEFORE IT IS TOO LATE. THE EMIGRANT LEBANESE WHO TAKE PRIDE IN THEIR ORIGIN BELIEVE IT POSSIBLE FOR YOU TO DO SO.

The Opinion of Prof. Antoun Al-Jemeyel, Pasha

Prof. Reshdi Maloof published an open letter in the Lebanese paper, *Sout Al-Ahrar* ("The Voice of the Free"), addressed to the professor, Sheikh Antoun Al-Jemeyel, Pasha, the chief editor of *Al-Ahram* ("The Pyramids"), and a member of the Egyptian Senate, in which he criticized the stand taken by the paper on the Lebanese elections. On June 20, 1947 Al-Jemeyel, Pasha, replied to this criticism in an editorial, in which, among other things, he said:

"Did you say that *Al-Ahram* intentionally omitted any of the events which happened during the elections in Lebanon? We published all that and more, including news of the meetings and protests sent by correspondents.

"We have brothers and friends in both camps, and we received criticism from both camps, as well as praise, I am not here giving the names. That *Al-Ahram* published no attack is understandable. *Al-Ahram* is not published in Lebanon, and the interest of Lebanon and the Lebanese people would be better served by not stigmatizing them with fraud and forgery. Does it not suffice that *Al-Ahram* carried a cable from London quoting the London Times report that the elections in Lebanon were a failure, and did not express the hopes of the people. We had hoped that Lebanon would be an example for the other Arab States of the East."

UNSATISFACTORY MEASURES

The Government in order to appease the nation came out with the statement that three of the newly elected deputies of the Parliament be denied representation on the basis that the judiciary committee had condemned the elections in their districts as fraudulent. The newspaper, *Al-Ruwad*, commented as follows:

"Really we did not expect such a tragedy to turn into a joke. Is this a new conspiracy? We expected those supporters of the Government for whom you made the number of votes in the Mount Lebanon District jump to 53,000, we expected that they would be out of the Parliament. Instead, we were given lessons in addition and subtraction, and the result was worse than before. Do you think that the nation is so naive that it will stand on its knees before this new tragedy that you are going to play?

"What did you think those three deputies were — your sharecroppers, who are working on your farms? Did you forget when you used to go to them for help and refuge from the foreigner? The nation will only be angrier, for it cannot understand your arithmetic, and cannot digest the 53,000 votes that your conscience has eaten."

PROTEST OF NOMINEES OF THE DISTRICT OF AL-BEQAA

The nominees of Al-Beqaa sent a letter of protest to the President of the Republic and the Prime Minister, which gives in detail the various incidents — some of them violent and bloody — that happened in their district on May 25. One important item of their protest gives evidence that the seats on the Government list were practically auctioned off, particularly those of the Maronite, the Orthodox, and the Sunni. This bargaining took place in the offices of the Government, and it was ascertained that the price for the Maronite seat was 120,000 lires (about $55,000). The letter was signed by Habib Nadra Mutran, George Al-Haj Shaheen, Mehdihamdah, George Herawi, Wadia Nasrallah, Shquin Araji, Mustafa Murad.

PROTEST OF THE NOMINEES OF BEIRUT

The nominees of the opposition in Beirut went to the palace of the President of the Republic and protested to him verbally. His Excellency was surprised and asked them "Is it true that they are doing such things?"

One of the nominees said, "The era of Abdul Hamid was like our time now, and it vanished." When they went out from the presence of the President, they addressed a proclamation to the people of Beirut. We quote the following significant passage: "You, the people of Beirut, cannot and will not accept this situation in which your rights and your freedom are being trampled upon. These elections are fraudulent. They should be null and void. Yours is the last word. Say it."

Those who signed this proclamation on May 25, 1947, were: Alfred Naqash, Emil Beyhum, Philip Tamer, Josef Shader, George Thabet, Ramez Sakis, Adib Qaddoura, Anis Al-Saghir, Adib Maloof, Abdul-Hafiz Mehmasani, Hussein Sejaan, Nasif Mejdlani, Hratshia Shamelian, Abdul Salam, Shatila, Mustafa Al-Aris, Karnik Menasian, Subhi Al-Mehmasani, Mehsen Salim, Ahmad Al-Ahdab, Mahmud Al-Haj, Zuheir Aseiran, Ibrahim Kheirallah, Jacques Lezmi.

Furthermore, the nominees of Beirut held a meeting and invited the press. At this meeting it was decided to send a telegram of protest to the President of the Republic, describing in detail the conditions that had prevailed in the polls, and the acts of terror practiced by the supporters and employees of the Government. The press gave publicity in their daily columns to these various incidents and the protests against them.

PROTESTS OF NOMINEES OF THE NORTH LEBANON DISTRICT

What happened in the district of North Lebanon was very simple. When the nominees of the opposition saw what was going on, they retired — all of them — with their lists from the elections, and sent a vigorous protest to the President of the Republic. This protest, dated May 28, 1947, was signed by Fuad Dubal, Abdul Ghani Sultan, Kablan Eissa Al-Khouri, Muhamed Al-Mustafa, Khaled Abdul Qader, Ahmad Al-Yousef. These signatures were notarized by the elder of Mahallat Al-Tarbiaat, Toufic Al-Dayeh.

PROTESTS OF THE PUBLISHERS OF THE LEBANESE PRESS

The American correspondents in Beirut met with Prof. Taqi Ed-Deen Bey Al-Solh, the dean of the Lebanese press, and asked him if it was true that the elections had been false. Prof. Taqi Ed-Deen answered: "Yes, they are fraudulent and forged." The American correspondents asked him to go on, and he said: "I say to you, and my heart is grieved, that all that has been said about the forgeries, intimidation and fraud in the elections, is true. I say this though my own cousin is the Prime Minister and the head of the Lebanese Government."

At a general meeting following the elections, all the publishers and editors of the Lebanese newspapers sent a letter of protest to the President of the Republic, asking him to dissolve the Parliament and to order new elections under a neutral government. The papers represented were *Al-Hadf, Al-Dayar, Al-Sayad, Al-Junhoor, Asia, Al-Youm, Lisan Al-Hal, Al-Ruwad, Sout Al-Shaab, Beirut Al-Masa, Beirut, Sout Al-Ahrar, Al-Nedal, Al-Bayraq, Marqad Al-Anza, Le Soir, Al-Bashir, Al-Teleghraf, Al-Orient, Al-Amal.*

THE PROTEST OF SHEIKH SALIM AL-KHOURI

It should be noted that Sheikh Salim Al-Khouri is the brother of Sheikh Beshara Al-Khouri, the President of the Republic of Lebanon. He put the blame for everything that happened during the elections on the Minister of Finance, Camille Chamoun, stating that the aforesaid Minister with some others of the Cabinet had seized the Ministry of the Interior and directed all his maneuvers in cooperation with the director of the Bureau of the Ministry, Khalil Baaqlini.

Sheikh Salim Al-Khouri won the elections although many of his colleagues on the Second Governmental list lost.* On June 8, 1947, he sent a protest to the President of the Republic and to the Prime Minister, protesting against the fraudulent elections. He also sent the President of the Republic his letter of resignation from the so-called

*This was a list of pro-Government candidates for whom there was no room on the first, preferred list and for whom a second Government list was set up, to keep them from joining the opposition.

newly elected Parliament. In this letter of resignation he stated clearly that he did not believe that the Parliament was legal, and that he was resigning in order that the people of Lebanon should know that he himself had nothing to do with the fraud.

SHEIKH FARID AL-KHAZEN AND PROF. TAQUI ED-DEEN

On June 18, 1947, Sheikh Farid Al-Khazen, himself a member of Parliament, representing the Party of the Constitution, stated: "The staying in power of this Parliament is a disgrace to the country, because fraud was practiced in all the districts. No one of the newly elected deputies can swear that his election was honest and legal. It is vitally necessary to dissolve this fraudulent Parliament, and to call the country to new and free elections."

Prof. Taqi Ed-Deen, also a deputy of the Party of the Constitution, protested at the first session of the new Parliament against the fraudulent measures taken by the Government to insure the victory of its nominees.

MOHAMED OMAR BEY BEYHUM

In protesting vigorously against the elections, this distinguished Lebanese made the following statement on June 2, 1947: "We have been accused of being associated with many suspicious parties, although those parties represented the will of the Lebanese people. What can they say now after it has been proven to everyone in Lebanon and outside of Lebanon, that the Government ordered all the frauds in the present elections and was responsible for all the innumerable cases of intimidation, coercion, forgery and bloodshed.

"Do they want us to remind them of the elections of 1937? Do they want us to enumerate their gains taken from rationed yarns and gold, from the relief money of the poor, from export and import licenses? We have the proof of their ill-gotten gains in photostatic documents. We dare them point to one blot on our reputation as Lebanese patriots."

EX-PRESIDENT ALFRED NAQASH

Ex-President Alfred Naqash* announced publicly: "To the friends who have supported me in the battle of the elections; to those who waited a long time in the heat of the sun and exposed themselves to mistreatment in order to do their duty; to the public opinion which was shocked at this farce of elections, this crime of May 25; to all these I present my thanks and my apologies and declare to them that we will find a way to continue our struggle for the defense of the freedom of all the Lebanese people. May the day soon come when the people of Lebanon will enjoy their freedom in honor and justice."

*Ex-President Naqash was largely responsible for preventing Vichy French military use of Lebanon in the struggle against the British and Free French.

PROF. ADEL BEY AUSEIRAN

Adel Bey Auseiran was elected to Parliament from the south of Lebanon. Nevertheless, he protested against the conduct of the elections, and presented his protest personally at the Palace of the Presidency. He saw the President in the prescnce of Riad As-Solh, the Prime Minister. Also, he wrote to two friends and colleagues, Professors Said Freiha, the Orthodox nominee, and Maron Kanaan, the Maronite nominee, to withdraw their names from the list of nominees in the second voting on June 1. Said Freiha withdrew in protest.

Professor Auseiran gave this declaration to the press: "I wish to say to His Excellency, the President, that the south will not be quiet, and every individual in it who is aware of what is going on will rise in revolt. If these elections are not annulled, a revolution is certain to take place which will burn everything in its way — the dry wood and the green."

YOUSEF BEY ALZEIN

Yousef Alzein, another member of Parliament elected in the new Parliament, had been elected by fraud. This declaration was published in the newspaper *Al-Amal*, organ of Al-Kataeb.

FARJALLAH AL-HELLOW

Farjallah Al-Hellow, a Communist candidate from the district of Mount Lebanon, is the General Secretary of the Communist Party in Lebanon.

Basing his protest on the statements of the two ministers, Kamal Jimblat and Camille Chamoun, about the fraudulence of the elections, Mr. Al-Hellow asked that the elections in Beirut and the Mountain be annulled to save the good name of Lebanon, and that the two ministers, if they were really sincere in their protests, demand that the Government act in this spirit.

GEORGE AKL

Prof. George Akl, the General Secretary of the National Bloc Party, addressed the Lebanese people in a statement from which we quote the following: "Generous people! We are today more confident of victory than before the elections, for our goal now is to liberate the nation from its tyrants, and our aims are supported by the overwhelming majority in our country, Lebanon.

"Proud people of Lebanon! Divine providence has willed that our opponents at the helm of the Government should be the persons responsible for these fraudulent elections. The Lebanese people now have the opportunity to see who are really the patriots and who are the betrayers. Long Live Lebanon!"

THE GRAND MUFTI, ABDUL HUSEIN SHARAF ED-DEEN

The Grand Mufti of the Shiite in Lebanon, Al-Shaiq Abdul Husein Sharaf Ed-Deen, sent a telegram of protest to the President of the Republic published in the press on June 7, 1947, as follows:

TO HIS EXCELLENCY, THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC: DO NOT APPOINT AT THE HEAD OF THE GOVERNMENT THOSE WHO HAVE ROBBED THE TREASURY OF THE NATION, THE MONEY OF THE POOR. HE WHO ORDERS THE GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES TO BREAK THE LAWS OF THE COUNTRY FOR HIS OWN SELFISH INTEREST, WHO CREATES TROUBLE AND DISCORD, PUT HIM FAR AWAY, AS FAR AS THAMUD.* ACCEPT MY DEAR AND DEVOTED COUNSEL—ELSE SALAM ON LEBANON.

ADBUL HUSEIN SHARAF ED-DEEN

THE STUDENTS

The students of the institutes of higher learning in Beirut went on strike in support of the struggle of the people against the fraudulent elections. Those at the American University sent a telegram of protest to the President of the Republic.

A NATIONAL CONFERENCE IN THE PALACE OF MOHAMED OMAR BEY BEYHUM

On Sunday, June 29, 1947, an important group of the leaders of Lebanon called a national conference at the palace of Mohamed Omar Bey Beyhum; all political and social organizations were represented at a mass gathering there. Among the notables present were Ex-Prime Minister Abdul Hamid Karama (Sunni Moslem from Tripoli, leader of the North), Dr. George Hanna (Protestant head of the Party of National Liberation, representing the minority denominations); Prof. Mehi Ed-Deen Al-Nasouli (Sunni Moslem, editor of *Beirut*); Prof. Elias Rababi (editor of *Al-Amal*, organ of Al-Kataeb); Sheikh Aref Al-Zein (Shihite leader); and Al-Emir Nuhad Arslan (Druze leader). All of them strongly attacked the present state of the country and the fraudulent elections. Resolutions were unanimously passed calling for

1. The dissolution of this dishonestly elected Parliament
2. The appointment of a new Government to supervise free elections
3. Disapproval of any treaty or negotiations that this Parliament may undertake or any concessions given by it to individuals and companies
4. Realization of these demands to be put in the hands of the Bloc of National Liberation.

Sheikh Pierre Al-Jemeyel, President of Al-Kataeb, then rose and presented this resolution:

*Thamud is the legendary land of the damned.

"Be it resolved that anyone of us who in the future will take the reins of Government, hereby pledges himself to abide by these resolutions and execute them and to treat as null and void any action that comes from this Government and this Parliament."

The Bloc of National Liberation adopted this resolution unanimously.

THE MARONITE PATRIARCH SPEAKS

A correspondent of *Akhbar Al-Alam* ("The News of the World") went to the Seat of the Maronite Patriarch, presented himself to his Beatitude, and asked him a few questions for his newspaper, of which the Patriarch answered some and ignored others.

Q. What is your opinion of the new Parliament and the news about the elections?

A. Without doubt this Parliament does not represent the will of the Lebanese people. The largest group of its members entered it by way of intimidation, fraud, forgery, and terror. . . . I wrote to Riad Al-Solh, the Prime Minister, protesting on what is happening in this era of independence, sovereignty and freedom, and I am with those who say that this Parliament should be dissolved, Lebanon's Constitution should be amended and new electoral laws be passed appropriate to this present era.

Q. If this Parliament is not dissolved, what will your stand be?

A. I do not wish to kindle a revolution in Lebanon . . . it is up to the Government to understand the facts, and to work to prevent things which we do not want to happen. The Government should be just and listen to the people, to allay their fears and to calm the present anger of the Lebanese nation.

Q. What is your view on the rumors to the effect that the project of Greater Syria is going to be realized and will take a few districts from Lebanon?

A. Be sure of this: that we will not give away one foot of Lebanon, no matter at what expense. These rumors concerning us have no truth whatsoever. They are invented by those who want to divide us. The communications that I received from His Majesty, King Abdullah, were only friendly personal letters, and had no relation at all with politics or with Greater Syria.

Q. It is said that America is going to send military missions to the Middle and Near East. What do you say to that?

A. I do not believe that America has any imperialist ambitions in the Levant. I believe that she has some economic interest only.

THE FARCE OF THE RUN-OFF ELECTIONS

The Government was undeterred by all these protests and proceeded to hold the second set of elections on June 1.* The people of Lebanon, however, boycotted the elections. Those few who came to vote were the employees of the Government and their families and relatives; also, those who had direct interest in the Government and with them the elders of the villages and their councils. All of them together amounted to no more than twenty per cent of the number of voters who had cast their votes on May 25. The ballot boxes were again stuffed by the officials, but with all the stuffing the number was no more than 32,000. When asked to explain the difference between 32,000 and the original total of 53,000, a Government statement said that the 21,000 represented the Opposition who had abstained from voting. It is interesting to note that after the first set of elections the number of votes announced by the Government for the opposition was only 16,000!

What the Press Said

For the first time in its history the Lebanese press unanimously condemned the elections. It enumerated the various incidents of fraud, forgery, intimidation and coercion, and demanded the dissolution of the newly elected Parliament and the calling of honest and free elections.

Some of the outstanding and widely circulated papers like *Beirut, Al-Amal, Sout Al-Ahrar, Al-Bashir, Al-Beyraq, Al-Orient, Al-Jadid, Al-Dunia, Asia, Al-Hadaf,* wrote tens of editorials on the subject. We have already mentioned the protest of the owners of the large papers, at which time they decided to boycott the Parliament by abstaining from publishing any reports of its activities. We quote here several typical articles from the Lebanese press, beginning with a summary of the situation by *Al-Bashir,* organ of the Jesuit University of Beirut, oldest Roman Catholic paper in the Lebanon.

Al-Bashir's Summary of the Protests

"Ministers

Camille Chamoun, Kamal Jimblat, Gabriel Al-Mur, Henri Pharoun and Abdullah Al-Yaffi admitted the existence of forgery in certain places. Riad As-Solh, the Prime Minister, hinted that in certain places there may have been circumstances conducive to forgery.

"Parties and Organizations

Al-Kataeb and Al-Neda Al-Qoumi, Al-Ghassasinah, the Communist Party, Al-Hezb, Al-Moutama Al-Watani, Al-Kutla Al-Wataniya all protested.

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*According to the French system, a second election must be held in cases where no candidate receives a clear majority.

"Societies and Clubs

Al-Inqaz Al-Watani, Al-Taharur Al-Watani, Nadi Al-Mouhajereen, Al-Ethad Al-Nesai, the groups of Lebanese ladies in Zahleh and Beirut, the Labor Union and the Students all protested.

"The Religious Sects

The Maronite Patriarch, Archbishop Moubarak, Archbishop Boulos Akl, all the Catholic and Maronite monastic orders protested.

"Some of the Victorious Members of Parliament

Sheikh Salim Al-Khouri, Adel Auseiran, Yousef Al-Zein, Sheikh Farid Al-Khazan, and others protested.

"The First Judiciary Committee of Investigation and the Second added their voices

"National Personalities

Omar Beyhum, Habib Trad, Abdul Hamid Karama, John Tiyan, Toufik Al-Natour, Taqi Ed-Deen Al-Sohl and many others protested.

"Official Actions Proving the Existence of Fraud

Besides the appointment of the two judiciary committees of investigation and the declaration of the Ministers, there is evidence of the forced resignation of the Mayor of the Mt. Lebanon District, Hussein Al-Jessir, and the vice-governor of Kesrouan, Badia Saleh.

"Newspapers Which Attacked the Frauds:

Al-Dayar, Al-Nedal, Asia, Al-Ruwad, Nada Al-Watan, Sada Al-Ahwal, Beirut, Beirut Al-Masa, Kulshei, Telegraf, Al-Hadf, Lesan Al-Hal, Sout Al-Ahara, Al-Beyraq, Al-Amal, Marqad Al-Anza, Al-Jadid, Al-Yum, Al-Etehad Al-Lebnani, Al-Kawukab, Le Soir, Al-Orient, Sout Al-Shaab, Al-Zaman, Al-Duñia, Al-Nehar, Al-Akhbar, Al-Dabur, La Revue du Liban, Al-Wela, Zahleh, Al-Fatat, Al-Raed, Sada Al-Shamal, Sada Lebnan, Al-Afkar Al-Mustaqbel, Al-Wadi, Akhbar Al-Aalam, Al-Safa, even Le Jour.

"Unofficial Declarations were made by most of the employees in the polling places and politicians.

"The Public Protests

Protests came from every voter and every Lebanese, except the candidates themselves. The only voices that claimed that the elections were free, in fact the fairest ever held in Lebanon, were those of the newspaper *Jaredat Al-Sharq*; of Prime Minister Jamil Mardam Bey of Syria; and of Riad As-Solh, Lebanon's Prime Minister. Beside these, some of our enthusiastic diplomats abroad concurred: Ahmad Al-Daouq, Sami Al-Khouri, Mekhdar Mkheish, Jebran Tweini."

Typical Quotations From Other Papers

BEIRUT:

"Between the people of Lebanon and these new deputies, there is a very deep gulf.

احتجاج المجتهد الاكبر عبد الحسين شرف الدين

وجه المجتهد الاكبر للطائفة الشيعية في لبنان العلامة الشيخ عبد الحسين شرف الدين برقية الى رئيس الجمهورية اللبنانية نشرت في الصحف الصادرة بتاريخ ٧ حزيران ١٩٤٧ قال فيها :

الى فخامة رئيس الجمهورية

لا تسندوا رئاسة الحكومة الى سروقة لاموال الامة . مصانع بقرش الفقير . يؤثر بالوظائف من لا يديرها يحمل المأمورين على مخالفة القوانين تعمدا لغرضه . يلقي الفتن . يخل بالامن ليسود . فعهدا له كما بعدت ثمود . املوا النصح المخلص والا فعلى لبنان السلام .

الامضاء . عبد الحسين شرف الدين

The Grand Mufti of the Shiite Appeals for a Changed and Honest Government, June 7, 1947.

الصحف التي حملت على التزوير وطالبت بابطال الانتخابات :

الديار ، النضال ، اسيا ، الرواد ، نداء الوطن ، صدى الاحوال ، بيروت ، بيروت ـ المساء ، كل شيء ، تلغراف، الهدف ، نشرة المؤتمر الوطني ، لسان الحال ، صوت الاحرار ، البيرق ، العمل ، مرقد العنزة ، الجديد ، اليوم الاتحاد اللبناني ، الكوكب ، لوسوار ، الاوريان ، صوت الشعب ، الزمان ، الدنيا ، النهار، الاحرار، (مع تحفظ)، الدور، الريفو دي ليبان، الولاء ، رحلة الفتاة ، الرائد ، صدى الشمال ، صدى لبنان ، الافكار ، المستقبل ، الوادي اخبار العالم ، الصفاء ، حتى لوجود

All these Lebanese Newspapers Attacked the Fraudulent Elections.

"The elections have ended in a manner satisfactory neither to friend nor enemy.

"Bad consciences — these belong to those who came back to Parliament, protected by bayonets.

"Democracy and freedom have been stabbed in the back, but we will not despair."

SOUT AL-AHRAR:

"The elections of today are like the elections of yesterday.

"It would have been much simpler and more decent for the Government to have extended the time of the last Parliament or to have issued a decree giving itself the right to appoint members of Parliament. This would have cost the people only a few words written on a typewriter.

"The country was taken by the enemy in a surprise attack. The bugle called the soldiers to arms. This is what happened last Sunday when Lebanon awakened to see the tanks and the mechanized forces converging on the streets of the capital. . . A very great tragedy. Never since the shameful elections of 1921 have the people of Lebanon seen such a sad sight."

AL-RUWAD:*

"You punish a forger who committed a crime for a little money, and you leave free those who forged and committed a crime against the whole nation. They are free, doing what they like, and ordering the people around like masters."

AL-BEYRAQ:

It is to be noted that Al-Beyraq, following its custom, attacked the Government vigorously and was suspended. It then appeared under a new name, *Marqad Al-Anza*, saying, among other things, in its editorials:

"After what we have seen, can anybody blame Abdul Hamid Karama if he resigned from politics, and did not consent to being nominated on any list? Should we wonder why free patriots like Omar Bey Beyhum and Habib Bey Trad turned their faces away from the elections and from high official positions? Who can blame the highest leader of our youth, Sheikh Pierre Al-Jamail, for refusing definitely to nominate himself or to accept any proposition presented to him by the group in power?

"Let the deputies enjoy their seats won by forgery and the blood of the innocent.

"The ministers in the Cabinet are the ones responsible for the forgeries, not the Mayor of the Mt. Lebanon District alone. He forged for

*It is to be noted that though *Al-Ruwad* speaks for the minister, Camille Chamoun, head of the first Governmental list, it, nevertheless, joined the other papers in protesting vigorously.

Sheikh Salim, but you, all you ministers, forged for yourselves. Resign! and make void the fraudulent elections."

AL-HADF:

"Governors — the elections are forged. They must be annulled. This is the opinion of the people. What is yours?"

AL-ETEHAD AL-LEBNANI:

"The people are the responsible ones and not the Government. If there is any blame, it is not the Government's. All the blame is on the people for it submits to intimidation and does not stand up in the face of the Government and rebel."

AL-NEDAL:

"To our American colleagues: Hear ye, do you want to give your papers important news? Write to President Truman and tell him if he wants to win the next election and have the Democratic Party sweepingly victorious over the Republican, there is a simple thing for him to do. Let him send for this great cook, Riad As-Solh, from Lebanon, and have him show American politicians what to do."

AL-JADID:

"What a shame before the people of the world!!

"Is the nation going to accept what has happened? The whole press is rebelling. Political parties, social organizations, and national groups continue to meet and protest. The students are in a state of rebellion, threatening the heroes of the scandal with the worst punishment. Can we expect real results, or will this whole rebellion vanish like soapsuds in the air?"

LE JOUR:*

"We have had enough small favors given here and there. We have had enough grave mistakes committed here and there.

"We hope that Lebanon will not be exposed again in such a shameful way. It would have been possible to have elections which we can be proud of, and not this comical scene of the past ten days."

AL-AMAL:

At the end of an editorial called "Numbers Speak," documenting the cases of forgery and fraud by the official employees of the Government, the paper said:

"You forgers are lying; when the people of Lebanon protested against your criminal actions in order to shield yourselves from this national anger, you gave the excuse that you were fighting foreign reaction.

*It is to be noted that *Le Jour*—organ of the President of the Republic—was the only paper which stood like an unconcerned spectator before and during the elections, but at the end even it could not help but come out with criticism and protest.

Actually, those who are demanding the preservation of our freedoms are the true Lebanese.

"Do you know who are the foreigners in Lebanon today? The Lebanese who are using foreign imperalist methods. Those who have used the army to intimidate and to coerce the voters or to eject them from the polling places. These imperialists are worse than the foreign ones we used to have.

"You are dispossessing the Lebanese of their natural right to choose their representatives. You intend to let Lebanon perish, to sell Lebanon, to remove it from the ranks of the civilized nations. You are the enemies of Lebanon, although you are governing Lebanon.

"You are the foreigners! You are the imperialists, exploiters! You are the black army! You are the bayonets and the bullets of this army!"

AL-ZAMAN:

"Lebanon has known many elections since 1922, but this last one is the worst."

AL-HAYAT:

"The new era is old — very old. You, reader, read the names of the newly elected deputies. Do you find any that differ from those in the previous Parliament? Why then these elections? Should a joke cost the country so much money and time?"

KULSHEI:

"One day of next week has unanimously been set aside as a day of general national mourning. It has so been designated by the political parties, the social organizations, Al-Kataeb, the Communist Party of Lebanon, the Nationalist Party, the labor unions in protest against these fraudulent elections which have marred Lebanon's new era of complete independence."

AL-WELA:

"A scandal and what a scandal!"

AL-YUM:

"We have seen it with our own eyes — We have seen the fraud in the elections, the funeral of democracy on May 25, 1947.

"We rebelled when we saw the funeral of freedom in Lebanon, and we are angered that the name of this trustful country is defiled by shame."

AL-NAHAR:

Al-Nahar is a Government paper, but if it had remained quiet, it would have lost its standing in the community, and we quote:

"Yes, there has been forgery, but why put the responsibility on this new era? They say this should be the era of independence but instead it is under a tyrannic rule. It is not the era but individuals — personalities that should be attacked."

AL-TELEGRAF:

"These were no elections. We demand the annulment of the elections and the holding of new elections."

AL-DAYAR:

Commenting on the resignation of Kamal Bey Jimblat, the editor says that this resignation cannot solve the question of fraud. The only solution is to bury this strange creature — the new Parliament.

ASIA:

Asia which is under the editorship of Prof. Mohamed Shuqeir, a personal friend of the Prime Minister, Riad As-Solh, and his emissary to the neighboring countries on important missions, said the following: "Are these elections? We speak of what we saw, and we give the people the truth. The elections which were held in Lebanon yesterday are no different from the worst that we saw during the period of the Mandate."

SOUT AL-SHAAB (the Communist organ):

May 25, 1947 is a black day in the history of Lebanon. What happened was not only a stab at the independence of Lebanon, but a stab in the heart of the movement which is struggling for independence in Iraq, Egypt, and Palestine. The events of May 25 gave foreign imperialism a most useful weapon in its fight for world approval of the continuance of armies of occupation in Egypt, Iraq and Palestine."

AL-DUNIA:

"The nation deserves this. I swear before God and man that I am a slave among slaves.

"Do we deserve to be alive?"

"Never! He who is beaten by the stick does not deserve to be alive."

Foreign Newspapers

The London Times reported that the entire Lebanese press had attacked the elections, and that two ministers, Jimblat and Chamoun, though themselves victorious, had presented their resignations. London diplomatic circles were said to be much concerned over the resignation of Camille Chamoun.

The Economist:

The British Office of Information in Beirut translated into Arabic an article from the London *Economist*, stressing the significance of the

fact that the Lebanese press had announced a boycott of the newly elected Parliament.

Al-Neda of Egypt:

Toufiq Daus Pasha happened to be in Lebanon during the elections and saw what actually happened in Bremana and Beirut. Daus Pasha is an executive of the Bank of Egypt and a member of the Egyptian Senate. The June 24, 1947 issue of *Al-Neda* (the paper of Fuad Seraj Ed-Deen Pasha, member of the Wafd Party and a former Minister of the Interior), carried the following report of Daus Pasha's impressions:

"Toufiq Daus Pasha told us that he was present at the opening of the new Lebanese Parliament, and that he heard the Prime Minister state that the Lebanese elections had been fair and honest. This is something to laugh loudly about, because two of those present at the opening were the two ministers who had resigned on account of forgery and fraud in the elections.

"His Excellency, Toufiq Daus Pasha, told us that over 50,000 ballots had been put into the voting boxes in Beirut, the capital, while the number of registered voters was about 20,000."

Al-Neda was then banned from the Lebanon, and the paper commented editorially: "Riad As-Solh has banned this paper from the Lebanon. God is our witness that we are overjoyed rather than grieved by this order, for it gives us an opportunity to feel at one with Lebanon in what it is suffering today at the hands of this government of forgery and fraud."

Al-Baath (of Damascus):

"This is what happened today in Lebanon. The same thing happened yesterday in Iraq, and before that in Egypt, and will happen tomorrow in Syria.

"Elections! ! ! Please say jokes."

Al-Hadarat (of Damascus):

"The fraudulent elections in Lebanon expose all the Arab countries to the danger of foreign intervention."

A LAW SUIT AGAINST THE FORGERS

The nominees of tbe National Lebanese Bloc Party brought a law suit against the Government of Riad As-Solh on the ground that it was responsible for the fraudulent actions of its official employees, cited by name as follows:

Ramadan Shatila, the head of the polls in Barja;

Josef Chamoun, the head of the polls in Anoute;

Toufiq Al-Haj Eid, the head of the polls in Kafr Maya;

Nasib Elias Shaheen Al-Qazi, the head of the polls in Al Jebbeh;

Abdul Rahman Al-Refai, the head of the polls in Al-Mereijah;

Shukri Maroun Al-Hayek, the head of the polls in Beit Shabab;
Ali Hussein Darwish, the head of the polls in Al-Sheyah;
Ahmad Al-Haraka, the head of the polls in Haret-Hreik;
Yousef Abu-Nader, the head of the polls in Jbeil;
Alfred Basil, an employee of the Agricultural Dept.
Anis Shdeid, the head of the polls in Ghalboun;
Fuad Al-Khouri, the head of the polls in Ehmej;
Maroun Sheheiber, the head of the polls in Al-Alqoura;
Rezqallah Nassi, the head of the polls in Al-Meneitra;
Mr. Heider, the clerk in the court of Qurtaba; and the head of the polls in Al-Megheir;
Emil Deeb, the head of the polls in Halat;
———, the head of the polls in Al-Munsef;
Yousef Hussein Darwish, the head of the polls in Qurtaba;
Emir Farid Shehab, the head of the polls in Ghosta;
Antoun Baroud, the head of the polls in Jeaeta;
———, the head of the polls in Ajalton;
Antoun Al-Zein, the head of the polls in Al-Adra;
Edouard Hubeiqa, the head of the polls in Ghadir;
Michel Abu-Zeid, the head of the polls in Herajel;
Emir Shakib Shehab, the head of the polls in Junieh;
Lt. Fuad Khattar, commanding officer of Al-Damoor, and the head of the polls in Ashqut;
———, the head of the polls in Bqaatuta;
and many others whose names will appear in the proceedings of the trial.

* * * * * *

In conclusion, we quote the following resolutions passed by the National Lebanese Bloc Party and various other political parties, social organizations and the press, expressing the desires of the Lebanese people in their homeland and of the Lebanese emigrants:

"1. This Parliament, which was brought into office by the fraudulent elections of the 25th of May and the 1st of June, 1947, does not represent the Lebanese people and cannot express the will of the nation because it was born of political intrigue, forgery and intimidation.

"2. The Governments conceived by such a Parliament are illegal Governments.

"3. All laws passed by such a Parliament and all treaties and negotiations, political, commercial, financial, and economic, with foreign powers, are considered void; and the Lebanese nation cannot be obliged to execute any of them.

"4. The nation will not be responsible for any budgetary expenses and taxes decreed by such Parliament. The responsibility for such actions will fall individually upon the members of this Parliament.

"5. In order to correct this illegal state, this Parliament must be dissolved, and new, honest elections must be held under the supervision of a neutral Government. The members of such a Government must be men who have proved themselves to be sincere, truthful and able, in order that peace and quiet be restored to the people of Lebanon.

"6. It was decided that the office of the National Bloc would present these resolutions to international public opinion."

Kesrouan Al-Khazen,
President of the National Bloc Party

George Akl,
Secretary General

$1.00